Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 KINGST 01999 01 OF 02 271907Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 AID-05 EB-08 OMB-01 COME-00 TRSE-00
STR-04 CEA-01 /087 W
----------272103Z 016370 /63
R 271700Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY KINGSTON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4971
INFO AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
AMEMBASSY NASSAU
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PORT AU PRINCE
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
COMNAVBASE GUANTANAMO BAY CUBA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 KINGSTON 1999

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, JM, US,UR, XH.

1. SUMMARY: PM MANLEY ON APRIL 22 DID MORE THAN PRESENT THE SO-CALLED EMERGENCY PRODUCTION PLAN. HIS PRESENTATION ALSO CONFIRMED THAT, FOR THE MOMENT AT LEAST, THE RADICALS WITHIN THE RULING PEOPLES NATIONAL PARTY (PNP) ARE IN ECLIPSE AS A RSULT OF THEIR OWN FAILURES TO PRESCRIBE FOR JAMAICA'S ECONOMIC ILLS. THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY EVIDENT OVER THE LAST SEVERAL WEEKS BUT THE ADDRESS PROVIDED THE CONCRETE EVIDENCE. THE RADICALS HAVE, HOWEVER, ONLY LOST A BATTLE; AND FAILURE BY THE NOW ASCENDANT MODERATES TO REVIVE THE ECONOMY WILL GIVE THE LEFTISTS AN OPPORTUNITY TO REGAIN THEIR LOST IMPORTANCE. END SUMMARY
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 KINGST 01999 01 OF 02 271907Z

2. IN THE THREE MONTHS WHICH FOLLOWED THE DECEMBER 1976 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, THE RADICALS DOMINATED THE POLITICAL SCENE-- IN LARGE MEASURE BECAUSE THEY (AND MOST PARTICULARLY PNP GENERAL SECRETARY D.K. DUNCAN AND THE INFORMATION CZAR, THEN-SENATOR ARNOLD BERTRAM) WERE CREDITED WITH HAVING ENGINEERED THE PNP'S

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

LADSLIDE VICTORY THROUGH NOT ONLY EFFECTIVE USE OF THE
PARTY MACHINERY, BUT ALSO THROUGH CENTRAL RELIANCE ON
"SOCIALIST" APPEALS. IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE ELECTION
THE READICALS WERE GIVEN KEY PORTFOLIOS WHICH OFFERED
SUBSTANTIAL OPPORTUNITY TO BEGIN A RE-STRUCTURING OF
JAMAICA'S ECONOMY, POLITY AND SOCIETY.

3. THE HIGHWATER MARK FOR THE RADICALS WAS PROBABLY THE
PRIME MINISTER'S JANUARY 19 ECONOMIC AUSTERITY ADDRESS
(SEE KINGSTON 0327 AND 0453). IN THAT SPEECH, MANLEY
BLACKGUARDED THE IMF, SUGGESTED THAT JAMAICA MIGHT LOOK
TO COMECON COUNTRIES FOR NEW TRADE OUTLETS AND ASSISTANCE,
ANNOUNCED ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE
SOVIET UNION, TOLD THE MIDDLE CLASS THEY WOULD BEAR THE
BURDEN OF JAMAICA'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY, AND ADDED VERY
SUBSTANTIAL FUEL TO CLASS ANOMOSITIES. MOST NOTABLY,
MANLEY STATED THAT AN EMERGENCY PRODUCTION PLAN WOULD
BE FORMULATED BY APRIL WHICH WOULD BEGIN THE PROCESS OF
REVIVING THE ECONOMY--BUT WITHOUT REQUIRING JAMAICA
TA TAKE ANY STEPS (E.G., ACCEDING TO IMF RECOMMENDATIONS)
WHICH WOULD ERODE ITS SOVEREIGNTY.

4. IN THE WEEKS THAT FOLLOWED, THE RADICALS WERE
EVERYWHERE, EXHORTING JAMAICANS TO HARD WORK FOR A NEW
ORDER, AND PROMISING THAT UNDER THE JAMAICAN BRAND OF
"DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM" ALL GRIEVANCES WOULD BE REDRESSED,
AND IF ONLY BY IMPLICATION) ALL WEALTH REDISBUTIBUTED.
A GROUP OF LEFTIST ECONOMISTS WAS MOBILIZED TO WORK ON
VARIOUS PORTIONS OF THE EMERGENCY PRODUCTION PLAN, AND
SECRET

SECRET

THEY TOO, SPOKE PUBLICLY OF THE RADICAL CHANGES NEEDED.
IN THIS SETTING, BOTH THE PETITE AND HAUTE BOURGEOISIE
DISPLAYED PANIC. MANY LEFT THE ISLAND, TAKING WITH THEM
ALREADY SCARCE MANAGERIAL AND ENTREPRENEURIAL SKILLS.

JIM A VERY DISTINCT CHANGE BEGAN SEVERALWEEKS AGO.
SINCE MARCH, THE RADICALS HAVE DROPPED ALMOST FROM
SIGHT. ONE PROMINENT RADICAL, HOUSING MINISTER TONY
SPAULDING, THE LUMPENPROLETARIAT LEADER, WAS SERIOUSLY
TAINTED BY THE REMA INCIDENT OF FEB 2. FOR THE
OTHER AND MORE CLEARLY IDEOLOGICAL RADICALS,
THE REASONS ARE MORE FUNDAMENTAL: FIRST, THE FAILURE TO LIVE
UP TO PROMISE AND, SECOND, THE RE-EMERGENCE OF THE PNP'S
NUMERICALLY STRONGER MODERATES. INSOFAR AS THE FAILURE
IS CONCERNED, THE STANDING OF THE RADICALS--WHO HAD
ASSURED THE PRIME MINISTER AND THEIR CABINET COLLEGUES
OF SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN GENEROSITY-- WAS VERY
BADLY ERODED WHEN FOREIGN MINISTER P.J. PATTERSON'S
INQUIRIES IN HAVANA IN JANUARY REGARDING POSSIBLE

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

COMECON ASSISTANCE CAME TO NAUGHT. JAMAICA HAS OB-
TAINED FROM EASTERN EUROPE TO DATE ONLY AN $8.0
MILLION LINE OF CREDIT FROM HUNGARY. JAMAICA WAS LEFT
TO CONFRONT THE REALITY THAT ITS BEST HOPE OF ASSISTANCE
LAY WITH TRADITIONAL SOURCES.

6. AN EVEN MORE SERIOUS FAILURE CENTERS ON THE EMEKGENCY
PRODUCTION PLAN. THE RADICALS IN THE CABINET, WORKING
WITH THEIR ACADEMIC ALLIES, FAILED TO PREPARE A PLAN
EITHER COHERENT, OR WORKABLE. INSOFAR AS WE CAN JUDGE,
THEY FASHIONED ONLY A CATCHALL HOPE CHEST OF
IDEOLOGICAL PANACEAS WHICH HAD TO BE ENTIRELY REWORKED.
THE SPECIFIC PRAISE (AND PRIVATE APOLOGIES) MANLEY OFFERED
TO BANK OF JAMAICA GOVERNOR ARTHUR BROWN AND FINANCE
SECRETARY HORACE BARBER APRIL 22 WAS CLEAR EVIDENCE THAT
THE PRIME MINISTER HAD, IN THE END, TO TURN TO THE CIVIL
SERVANTS TO OBTAIN A PLAN THAT HAD ADEQUATE COHERENCE.
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 KINGST 01999 01 OF 02 271907Z

BROWN HAD BEEN VIRTUALLY BRANDED AN "ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE"
BY THE RADICALS IN THE POST-ELECTION PERIOD.

7. THE ROLE OF THE MODERATES IS NOT ONE CHARACTERIZED
BY HEROISM. THE RADICALS' DYNAMIC AND SUCCESSFUL ROLE
IN THE 1976 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION LEFT THEM IN A SEVERE
FUNK. MOREOVER, WE SUSPECT THAT, SINCE MOST OF THE
MODERATES HAD SERVED IN THE 1972-76 PNP GOVERNMENT,

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 KINGST 01999 02 OF 02 272041Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 AID-05 EB-08 OMB-01 COME-00 TRSE-00
STR-04 CEA-01 /087 W
----------272104Z 017746 /63
R 271700Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY KINGSTON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4972
INFO AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
AMEMBASSY NASSAU
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PORT AU PRINCE
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
COMNAVBASE GUANTANAMO BAY CUBA

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 KINGSTON 1999
THEY MAY HAVE FELT SOME MEASURE OF RESPONSIBILITY
FOR--OR PLAIN HELPLESSNESS REGARDING--THE
COUNTRY'S WORSENING ECONOMIC PLIGHT, AND THUS HAD
ANOTHER REASON FOR ABDICATING IN FAVOR OF THE ENERGETIC
RADICALS. HOWEVER, AS IT BECAME INCREASINGLY EVIDENT
THAT THE RADICALS WERE BENT ON A COURSE WHICH WOULD
DAMAGE THE BASICALLY MIDDLE-CLASS INTERESTS OF THE
MODERATES AND WOULD, AS ONE MINISTER SAID PRIVATELY,
GO SIGNIFICANTLY BEYOND THE PROGRAM CONTAINED IN THE
PNP'S ELECTION MANIFESTO AND THUS THE PARTY'S MANDATE,
THE MODERATES BEGAN TO MOVE. WHETHER THEY WOULD HAVE
ACTED ON THEIR OWN IS PROBLEMATICAL. HOWEVER, AS THE
FAILURES OF THE RADICALS GREW MORE EVIDENT, THE MODERATES
GAINED HEART.

SECRET

SECRET

8. THE TURNING POINT WAS APPARENTLY AT THE MARCH 26-27
RETREAT HELD BY THE PNP'S NATIONAL EXECUTIVE AT OCHO
RIOS TO CONSIDER, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE EMERGENCY
PRODUCTION PLAN. A CONFRONTATION TOOK PLACE, AND THE
MODERATES PREVAILED. THEIR CHIEF ADVOCATE WAS FORELGN
MINISTER P.J. PATTERSON--THE PNP MINISTER PERHAPS MOST
ACUTELY AWARE OF THE RAELITIES CONFRONTING JAMAICA AS
IT SEEKS ASSISTANCE. HE WAS REPORTEDLY JOINED BY IN-
FORMATION MINISTER BERTRAM. THIS LATER DEVELOPMENT, MORE
THAN ANYTHING ELSE, REVEALED THE LOW ESTATE TO WHICH
THE RADICALS HAD FALLEN. WE THINK THAT THE DECISIVE
MOMENT CAME WHEN PRIME MINISTER MANLEY, COMPELLED
TO FACE THE REALITY THAT ONLY WESTERN COUNTRIES AND THE
IMF OFFERED ANY HOPE FOR ASSISTANCE, REITERATED THE
INSTRUCTIONS HE HAD GIVEN HIS COLLEAGUES LAST FALL
THAT THERE IS TO BE NO RETURN TO ANTI-AMERICAN INVECTIVE.
THE REALIZATION, WHICH RESULTED FROM FOREIGN MINISTER
PATTERSON'S WASHINGTON VISIT, THAT THE U.S. PLANNED TO
BE FORTHCOMING IN THE ASSISTANCE FIELD, CLEARLY CON-
TRIBUTED TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S RECOGNITION (RELUCTANT
THOUGH IT MAY HAVE BEEN) OF THE NEED TO TURN AWAY FROM
THE RADICALS AND THEIR SOLUTIONS.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

9. ALTHOUGH THE RADICALS HAVE SUFFERED A DEFEAT, THEY
HAVE LOST A BATTLE, NOT A WAR. THEY HAVE WITHDRAWN
FROM THE FIELD, BUT REMAIN READY TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF
ANY FAILURE BY THE MODERATES TO RESOLVE JAMAICA'S
PROBLEMS. THEY HAVE EVERY REASON TO THINK THAT THEY
WILL HAVE A RECEPTIVE AUDIENCE IN THE PRIME MINISTER
IF NO IMPROVEMENT TAKES PLACE. MANLEY'S VERY LAUDATORY
REFERENCE IN HIS APRIL 22 SPEECH TO MOBILIZATION MINISTER
DUNCAN AND THE LEFT-WING ECONOMISTS WHO WORKED, ABORTIVELY
THOUGH IT MAY HAVE BEEN, ON THE PLAN IS AN INDICATOR OF
HIS PERSONAL INCLINATIONS. WHETHER OR NOT THESE
REMARKS WERE ALSO INTENDED TO INSURE AGAINST RADICAL
MACHINATIONS REMAINS TO BE SEEN.
SECRET

SECRET

10. SUCH INSURANCE MAY BE NEEDED . WE MAY ALREADY
HAVE SEEN THE OPENING GUN OF A SPOILING CAMPAIGN BY THE
LEFT. THE APRIL 19 STORY IN THE DAILY NEWS (SEE
KINGSTON 1820) SUGGESTING THAT THE U.S. MAY PROVIDE
JAMAICA WITH A LOAN OF UP TO $250 MILLION, THEREBY
OBVIATING NEED TO SEEK IMF SUPPORT, MAY SIMPLY BE THE
FIRST MANIFESTATION OF EFFORTS TO UNDERMINE THE MODERATES.
WHILE THERE IS NO REASON TO DOUBT THAT PRIME MINISTER
MANLEY HAS DECIDED FOR THE MOMENT TO PLACE RELIANCE ON
THE MODERATES, WE ARE REMINDED BY JAMAICANS THAT HE IS
NOT A BOLD MAN. THUS, IF THE RADICALS CAN RE-GROUP AND
FIND ISSUES ON WHICH THEY CAN PERSUASIVELY ATTACK THEIR
MODERATE COLLEAGUES, MANLEY MAY WELL BE LED TO REVERSE
COURSE. HIS OWN PREDISPOSITION FOR THE LEFT WOULD MAKE IT
EASY.
DORRYNCE

SECRET

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ECONOMIC RECOVERY, POLITICAL STABILITY, SPEECHES, POLITICAL SITUATION, OPPOSITION PARTIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 27-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977KINGST01999
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X3
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770147-0537
Format: TEL
From: KINGSTON
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770415/aaaaamke.tel
Line Count: 261
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: d455c19c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION ARA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2682180
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RADICALS WITHIN THE RULING PEOPLES NATIONAL PARTY (PNP) ARE IN ECLIPSE
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, ECON, JM, US, UR, XH, (MANLEY, MICHAEL N)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/d455c19c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009